

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 HEW-08 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01

SS-15 USIA-15 SAJ-01 EB-11 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01

AID-20 IGA-02 SCI-06 RSR-01 DOTE-00 HUD-02 /146 W

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R 310829Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5542

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 4472

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP, PFOR, PL, US

SUBJECT: WEINBERGER VISIT: MEETING WITH ACTING

PRIME MINISTER JAGIELSKI, 9:00 A.M.

AUGUST 29, 1973

FOR DR. AUSTIN

REF: WARSAW 4465

1. THE FOLLOWING MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION HAS NOT BEEN CLEARED BY SECRETARY WEINBERGER. PARTICIPANTS IN THIS FORTY-FIVE-MINUTE MEETING WERE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION) MIECZYSLAW JAGIELSKI (IN THE ABSENCE OF JAROSZEWICZ, ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS); MINISTER OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE MARIAN SLIWINSKI; WIESLAW WANIEWSKI, UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE IN THE OFFICE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS; LYDIA RETKOWSKA, OF THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE, WHO INTERPRETED; SECRETARY WEINBERGER; AND AMBASSADOR DAVIES.

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2. JAGIELSKI WELCOMED SECRETARY WEINBERGER IN THE

NAME OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, WHO WAS ON VACATION. IT WAS A PLEASURE FOR THE POLISH LEADERSHIP TO WELCOME OUTSTANDING REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES, NOT ONLY BECAUSE THE POLES ARE PROUD OF THEIR REPUTATION AS A HOSPITABLE PEOPLE, BUT ALSO BECAUSE, SINCE THEY HAD SUFFERED SO MUCH IN THE COURSE OF THEIR HISTORY, THEY STRONGLY DESIRE PEACE AND SECURITY. JAGIELSKI WAS HAPPY THE SECRETARY HAD BEEN ABLE TO VISIT POLAND FOR WHAT HE UNDERSTOOD WAS THE FIRST TIME. SUCH CONTACTS FACILITATE CLOSER COOPERATION. THE POLISH LEADERS RECALL VERY VIVIDLY THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON AND ARE VERY SATISFIED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF US-POLISH RELATIONS FOLLOWING HIS VISIT.

3. AS A SOCIALIST COUNTRY, JAGIELSKI SAID, POLAND'S PRINCIPAL ALLY IS THE USSR. BUT WE ARE INTERESTED TOO IN CLOSER AND CLOSER RELATIONS WITH THE US. AS A COMMUNIST, JAGIELSKI WISHED TO PRESENT A THESIS: THAT THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF CULTURAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS MUST REST ON A BASE OF GOOD ECONOMIC RELATIONS. AS AN ECONOMIST AND A LAWYER, AND ABOVE ALL, AS A PRACTICAL MAN, A REALIST, THE SECRETARY WOULD PERHAPS AGREE WITH THAT THESIS. THAT SEEMED TO HOLD TRUE WITH REGARD TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, DESPITE THE DIFFERENCES IN OUR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS. JAGIELSKI ASKED THE SECRETARY FOR HIS IMPRESSIONS OF POLAND.

4. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN HERE TOO SHORT A TIME TO FIND ANYTHING HE DIDN'T LIKE. JAGIELSKI SAID THAT THIS WAS A DIPLOMATIC ANSWER.

5. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE WAS NOT A DIPLOMAT--NOR WAS HE AN ECONOMIST ANY LONGER; HIS ECONOMIC WORK HAD LASTED ONLY TWO YEARS. HE AND HIS PARTY HAD HAD A DELIGHTFUL TRIP AND ALL OF THEM WOULD BE HAPPY TO RETURN TO POLAND FOR ANOTHER VISIT. THE PRESIDENT HAD ASKED HIM TO MENTION THE DEEP FEELING THE PRESIDENT HAD FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE AND THE APPRECIATION HE HAD FOR THE WARM WELCOMES HE HAD RECEIVED IN POLAND, FIRST WHEN HE WAS

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VICE PRESIDENT, THEN WHEN HE WAS OUT OF OFFICE, AND FINALLY AS PRESIDENT. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAD VERY WARM TIES TO THE POLISH PEOPLE--AND THESE WERE BY NO MEANS RESTRICTED TO AMERICANS OF POLISH ORIGIN. THE WORD THE CHAIRMAN HAD USED WELL DESCRIBED THE PRESIDENT--THE PRESIDENT WAS A REALIST. THE CHAIRMAN HAD MENTIONED THE DIFFERENCES IN OUR TWO SYSTEMS. IF HE WISHED, THE SECRETARY SAID, HE COULD GIVE A SHORT SPEECH IN BEHALF OF THE

REPUBLICAN PARTY. JAGIELSKI INTERRUPTED TO URGE THAT THE SECRETARY FEEL FREE TO DO SO. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT INSTEAD IT SEEMED MORE IMPORTANT TO HIM TO STRESS THE PRESIDENT'S DESIRE TO LAY A FOUNDATION FOR WORLD PEACE. HIS VISITS TO MOSCOW, PEKING, AND WARSAW HAD BEEN DESIGNED TO SERVE THAT END. HE WAS DEVOTING THE WHOLE PERIOD OF HIS ADMINISTRATION TO THE FOUNDATION OF A LASTING PEACE. SO, THE SECRETARY SAID, HE THOUGHT THAT THE DIFFERENCES IN THE SYSTEMS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO INTERFERE WITH THAT EFFORT.

6. JAGIELSKI SAID THAT THE POLISH LEADERSHIP RECOGNIZED THE GREAT WISDOM OF THE PRESIDENT IN THIS.

7. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT VISITS LIKE HIS AND THOSE OF HIS COLLEAGUES WERE THE BEST WAY TO IDENTIFY COMMON PROBLEMS AND FIND SOLUTIONS TO THEM, WITHOUT REGARD FOR DIFFERENCES IN THE SYSTEMS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE SECRETARY SAID, HE HAD DISCUSSED WITH THE MINISTER OF HEALTH AND WITH VICE MINISTER OF SCIENCE, HIGHER EDUCATION, AND TECHNOLOGY ZDZISLAW KACZMAREK MEANS OF KEEPING OUR RESEARCH EFFORT GOING AFTER THE PL-480 FUNDS RUN OUT. ONE WAY TO DO THIS, FOR INSTANCE, WOULD BE A DECISION TO CONTINUE TO FINANCE THESE PROJECTS, PERHAPS THROUGH A JOINT INVESTMENT FUND, THE INTEREST ON WHICH WOULD PROVIDE CONTINUED FINANCING. ANOTHER APPROACH WHICH WOULD BE HELPFUL WOULD BE TO IDENTIFY PRIORITIES AND TO CONCENTRATE ON THEM. THERE WERE OTHER THINGS THAT COULD BE DONE IN ORDER TO FIND SOME JOINT MEANS FOR CONTINUED FINANCING. IT WAS NECESSARY TO FIND SOME PLAN TO PROVIDE FOR CONTINUED FINANCING BEFORE THE PL-480 FUNDS RUN OUT.

8. JAGIELSKI SAID THAT THESE PROPOSALS NEED TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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STUDIED. MINISTER SLIWINSKI HAD INFORMED HIM IN GENERAL TERMS ABOUT THE DISCUSSION HE HAD HAD WITH THE SECRETARY ON THIS SUBJECT. SUCH PROPOSALS NEEDED TO BE MADE MORE PRECISE AND CONCRETE.

9. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE AND HIS PARTY HAD SEEN A GREAT MANY INTERESTING THINGS. ONE WAS THE PEDIATRICS INSTITUTE IN KRAKOW. NOW, THEY WERE LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING THE REHABILITATION CENTER AT KONSTANCIN. THE PEDIATRICS INSTITUTE SEEMED TO HIM A VERY GOOD EXAMPLE OF US-POLISH COOPERATION. JAGIELSKI SAID THAT IT WAS A GOOD INSTITUTION.

10. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE PARTY HAD ALSO SEEN THE WAWEL, ST. MARY'S CHURCH, AND MANY OF THE GREAT ART

TREASURES LOCATED AT KRAKOW, FOR EXAMPLE, THE TURKISH
TENTS. JAGIELSKI SAID THAT, AS THE FORMER CAPITAL OF
POLAND, KRAKOW HAD MANY MONUMENTS. IT WAS TOO BAD THAT
SHORTNESS OF TIME HAD MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE SECRETARY
TO SEE OSWIECIM (AUSCHWITZ). IF HE HAD TIME ON A FUTURE
VISIT, HE SHOULD SEE IT. KRAKOW, JAGIELSKI SAID, IS
LOCATED IN THE POORER PART OF POLAND. POLAND IS NOT A
RICH COUNTRY, BUT THE SOUTH, AROUND KRAKOW, WAS ONE OF
ITS POORER PARTS. HE HAD BEEN IN CALIFORNIA. "WHAT A
BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY*" THE POLES WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A
CALIFORNIA HERE. NEVERTHELESS, THE SECRETARY SAID, KRAKOW
WAS VERY INTERESTING AND VERY OLD AND RICH IN HISTORY.
JAGIELSKI SAID THAT ONE ASPECT OF KRAKOW'S POVERTY
WAS A RESULT OF THE FACT THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO MODERN
INDUSTRY THERE BEFORE 1939. BEFORE THE WAR, KRAKOW
WAS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY AN AREA OF SMALL AND EXTREMELY
SUBDIVIDED PEASANT FARMS.
DAVIES

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SS-15 USIA-15 SAJ-01 EB-11 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01

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11. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT, WITH REGARD TO OSWIECIM,
HE DID NOT HAVE A STRONG ENOUGH STOMACH TO BEAR SUCH
HORRORS -- NOR DID MRS. WEINBERGER. THEY FELT IT WOULD
BE TOO HORRIBLE A REMINDER OF THE PAST. ON THE OTHER
HAND, THE EVIDENCE OF WARSAW PROVIDED A LIVING MEMORIAL,

WHICH GIVES A VERY GOOD IDEA OF THE STRENGTH OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. JAGIELSKI ASKED WHETHER THE SECRETARY HAD SEEN THE FILM ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF WARSAW. SLIWINSKI SAID THE SECRETARY WOULD SEE IT LATER IN THE DAY. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT SAN FRANCISCO, HIS HOME-TOWN, HAD HAD A VERY BAD EARTHQUAKE IN 1906, AS A RESULT OF WHICH 10 PERCENT OF THE CITY HAD BEEN DESTROYED. IT HAD TAKEN TEN YEARS TO MAKE GOOD THAT DESTRUCTION. HERE, 85 PERCENT OF WARSAW HAD BEEN DESTROYED AND THE CITY HAD BEEN REBUILT IN 20 YEARS.

12. JAGIELSKI SAID THAT SAN FRANCISCO, WHICH HE HAD VISITED, WAS A BEAUTIFUL CITY. WARSAW HAD NOW BEEN REBUILT AND MUCH MODERN INDUSTRY HAD BEEN ADDED TO IT. THERE ARE PROBLEMS, FOR EXAMPLE WITH PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION. IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, WARSAW WOULD HAVE TO FACE THE PROBLEM OF WHETHER OF NOT A SUBWAY SHOULD BE BUILT. HOUSING REMAINED A VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM. DURING
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THE GERMAN OCCUPATION, SIX AND A HALF MILLION POLES HAD BEEN MURDERED; THE POLES HAD BEEN FORBIDDEN TO MARRY AND HAVE CHILDREN. FOLLOWING THE WAR, THERE HAD BEEN A VERY GREAT SPURT IN POPULATION GROWTH AND THE GENERATION BORN THEN HAD NOW GROWN UP. ONE MILLION TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND NEW HOUSING UNITS WOULD BE BUILT UNDER THE PRESENT FIVE-YEAR PLAN. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT, JUDGING BY THE AMOUNT OF BUILDING HE HAD SEEN IN PROGRESS IN WARSAW AND KRAKOW, THIS PROGRAM SEEMED TO BE WELL LAUNCHED. JAGIELSKI SAID THAT A LOT WAS BEING DONE, BUT THE NEEDS ARE GREATER STILL. THE SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER ONLY APARTMENT WERE BEING BUILT OR WHETHER SINGLE-FAMILY DWELLING WERE ALSO BEING CONSTRUCTED. JAGIELSKI SAID THAT LARGE APARTMENT BLOCKS WERE BEING BUILT IN THE BIG CITIES. IN THE NEXT FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD, 1,500,000 TO 1,600,000 NEW UNITS WERE PLANNED. BUT THE GOVERNMENT WAS ASSISTING IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SINGLE-FAMILY DWELLINGS, PARTICULARLY IN SMALLER CITIES AND TOWNS AND IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, THROUGH LOW-COST LOANS AND OTHER MEANS. ABOUT ONE-FIFTH OF THE UNITS BUILT WOULD BE SINGLE-FAMILY DWELLINGS.

13. JAGIELSKI SAID THAT THERE WERE THREE KEY PROBLEMS:

(A) HOUSING CONSTRUCTION: THIS DERIVED ITS GREAT IMPORTANCE FROM THE NEED TO PROVIDE FOR FAMILY LIFE AND TO GIVE CHILDREN THE PROPER FAMILY ENVIRONMENT; (B) HEALTH PROTECTION: NEW FACILITIES FOR 50,000 PATIENTS WERE TO BE CONSTRUCTED UNDER THE CURRENT PLAN AND TWICE THAT UNDER THE NEXT ONE; NOT ONLY WERE

CURATIVE FACILITIES IMPORTANT, BUT PROPHYLACTIC ONES, AS WELL; AND (C) EDUCATION, ABOUT WHICH THE SECRETARY HAD TALKED WITH MINISTER KUBERSKI.

14. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THESE WERE VERY KEY PRIORITIES FOR US, TOO. HEW WAS SPENDING A LOT OF TIME STUDYING HEALTH PROTECTION AND HEALTH INSURANCE. WE REGARDED EDUCATION AS VERY IMPORTANT. AS THE CHAIRMAN NO DOUBT KNEW, THE LARGEST PART OF THIS WAS HANDLED IN THE US BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTES ONLY 5-7 PERCENT OF THE FUNDS, CONCENTRATING PARTICULARLY ON EDUCATION
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FOR THE HANDICAPPED, COMPENSATORY EDUCATION, AND VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION. THESE ARE ALL VERY PEACEFUL ENDEAVORS, WHICH MARK A SOCIETY THAT WANTS TO REMAIN AT PEACE. THIS IS WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAS IN MIND WHEN HE TALKS ABOUT THE NECESSITY OF BUILDING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A GENERATION OF PEACE.

15. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE JUDGED BOTH SIDES WERE INTERESTED IN CONTINUING THE DISCUSSIONS ON A NEW ARRANGEMENT FOR FINANCING THE PL-480 PROJECTS. WE HOPE THE DISCUSSION CAN MOVE OUT OF THE THEORETICAL INTO THE CONCRETE STAGE.

16. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WAS INTERESTED IN THE WORK OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION, OF WHICH, HE KNOW, THE CHAIRMAN WAS HEAD. FOR EXAMPLE, DID THE COMMISSION ESTIMATE THE NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND DOCTORS REQUIRED AS WELL AS THE NUMBER OF HABITATIONS? JAGIESKI SAID THAT THERE IS A SOCIAL PLANNING SECTION IN THE COMMISSION. ON THE BASIS OF THE INCREASE IN THE NATIONAL INCOME, IT TRIES TO FIND THE RESOURCES NECESSARY FOR SOCIAL PURPOSES. THE NEEDS ARE GROWING IN ALL THESE AREAS AND, ON TOP OF EVERYTHING, THERE ARE ALSO THE NEEDS IMPOSED BY PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT. THESE ARE BIG DEMANDS.

17. THE SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER THE COMMISSION ESTIMATES THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL INCOME. JAGIESSKI SAID THAT THIS WAS THE BASIC DATUM USED BY THE COMMISSION.

18. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE CORRESPONDING INSTITUTION ON OUR SIDE WOULD SEEM TO BE OMB. IN HEW NOW, WORK WAS PROCEEDING ON MEASURING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF EXPENDITURES IN THE SOCIAL FIELD. TURNING TO MINISTER SLIWINSKI, JAGIELSKI ASKED HOW EFFECTIVE HIS MINISTRY'S PROGRAMS WERE. SLIWINSKI SAID THAT HEALTH WAS IMPORTANT BECAUSE ONLY HEALTHY PEOPLE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE GROWTH OF THE

NATIONAL INCOME. JAGIELSKI SAID TO SLIWINSKI THAT HE SHOULD GIVE A CONCRETE ANSWER, NOT A PHILOSOPHICAL-SOCIOLOGICAL ONE.

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19. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT MEASUREMENTS WERE BEING MADE WITH REGARD TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LOW-COST HOUSING. HE WAS TRYING TO FIND A WAY TO LET PEOPLE CHOOSE THE KIND OF HOUSING THEY WANTED, SO THAT SUBSIDIES FOR LOW-COST HOUSING COULD BE STOPPED OR REDUCED. THIS WAS A RESULT OF EFFORTS TO EVALUATE THE PREVIOUS PROGRAM OF SUBSIDIES. JAGIELSKI SAID THAT THIS WAS VERY INTERESTING.

20. THE SECRETARY THANKED THE CHAIRMAN FOR THE TIME HE HAD TAKEN AND FOR THE ARRANGEMENTS THAT HAD BEEN MADE TO MAKE HIS VISIT SUCH A PLEASANT AND, ABOVE ALL, EDUCATIONAL ONE. IN RESPONSE, JAGIELSKI EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE SECRETARY MIGHT COME BACK AGAIN, SINCE SUCH VISITS CONTRIBUTED TO THE GOAL TOWARDS WHICH BOTH SIDES WERE STRIVING: BETTER RELATIONS AND THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973WARSAW04472
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS DAVIES
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t1973081/aaaaaagv.tel
Line Count: 359
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: WARSAW 4465
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21-Sep-2001 by elyme>; RELEASED <21-Sep-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <26-Nov-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: WEINBERGER VISIT: MEETING WITH ACTING PRIME MINISTER JAGIELSKI, 9:00 A.M.
TAGS: OVIP, PFOR, PL, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005